

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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FIFTEEN PENCE

Letter from Spain p2 Anarchism In Eastern Europe p9

FIGHT for the RIGHT to KNOW!

ANARCHISTS and especially ex-members of the Committee of 100 will naturally be interested in the latest case of what used to be termed "Spies for Peace". You may remember that members of that group published the locations of the Regional Seats of Government where, in the case of nuclear war, a limited number of people would be admitted - these to constitute whatever government was possible. It was, and still is, a preposterous idea. The

success of Spies for Peace was that these plans were revealed to an incredulous population and pressure was put on government that nuclear disarmament was the only possible politics which (if events have not taken us too far already) might allow for the continuation of human life.

Two Americans, Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball are facing deportation orders on unspecified charges, but it is assum-



Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell:

(from TIME OUT)

**STOP THE DEPORTATIONS !
DROP THE CHARGES !**

RONAN STENSON RELEASED

RONAN STENSON, co-defendant with the Murrays, was released on Friday, 28 January. His acquittal ended a five day trial in the Special Criminal Court (SPC) and came after a court ruling that his "confession" was not admissible as evidence. The representative of the Director of Public Prosecutions then announced that no evidence would be offered against him and no other charges were pending.

The ruling on Stenson's "confession" was that he was in unlawful custody when it was made; the presiding judges considered that it was up to the courts to decide how long a person should be detained and not the Gardai. Several hours elapsed between the time of Ronan's arrest and his "confessing", and during that time he could have been brought before a Peace Commissioner, the District Court or the Special Criminal Court to decide whether or not his detention should continue. The prosecution admitted that he conditions of Ronan's detention at the time he made his statement were unlawful, and the court considered that the circumstances involved a breach of his constitutional rights. He was then

found not guilty of the charges against him and discharged.

What impact his release will have on Marie Murray's re-trial (set for April 25th) is difficult to judge as his "confession" was not in itself discredited, merely deemed inadmissible. Will the recent disclosures in the Irish Times of a "heavy gang" of police torturers, using systematic violence against political prisoners, and the discrediting time and again of the Special Criminal Court, an all our effort is now needed to secure justice for Marie Murray.

The London Defence Group are trying to arrange for a lawyer to be sent to Dublin to sit in at Marie's re-trial. Money is desperately needed if this is to be made possible. The group meets every Friday fortnight at Rising Free Bookshop, 142 Drummond St., N.W. 1. (near Euston Square tube) and needs YOUR support. The next meeting is on Friday 4th March, 8 pm. New leaflets and stickers have been produced, and further activities are being planned.

—People's News Service & P.W.

ed that as they have written several articles on CIA activities it is at the request of the American authorities that their deportation is sought. On 18 February three more people were charged with offences under the Official Secrets Act (section 2). They are John Berry, a former communications specialist in the army (charged with communicating classified information), Duncan Campbell, a freelance journalist, and Crispin Aubrey, a Time Out reporter (who are charged with unauthorised receipt of classified information). The case will continue on 28 April before the Tottenham magistrates.

A week before his arrest Duncan Campbell wrote in an article in Time Out of his impressions as a witness at the Agee-Hosenball tribunal. He claimed, in classical Committee of 100 style, that it was he who wrote and researched the facts of the article "The Eavesdroppers" which appears to have been the substance of the evidence against Hosenball. He wrote: "Called The Eavesdroppers this dealt with Britain's largest spy network organisation ... not m15 or M16 but an intelligence network controlled from a country town in the Cotswolds (Cheltenham). It was (and still is) the first time any newspaper has told the British public about this formidable and expensive organisation, known as Government Communications Headquarters (G.C.H.Q.). It listens to other countries' diplomatic messages, cracks codes and a lot besides that's more dangerous for us than that ..."

Readers may see from this that attention is now focussed on different (perhaps more political and less secret) points than in the case of the original Spies for Peace. The government can hardly argue that these places do not exist; where it is more embarrassing for them is that the controversy might develop on perfectly safe lines of sovereignty, (political, military, trade). What is being suggested is that no-one is immune, not even America's closest allies. For example, British business communications are intercepted by the Americans operating from Chicksands. This welcome information is passed on to competitors (especially American multinationals) who can frustrate and undercut trade. According to a 1947 pact the five main English-speaking countries (US, Britain, New Zealand, Canada, Australia) have combined to monitor and survey the military and trade activities of all other countries. In other words, such organisations as NATO, SEATO are subsidiary, with the US having the upper hand in the UKUSA (1947) pact. Britain monitors all information west of the Urals and Africa.

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LETTER FROM SPAIN

Note: FREEDOM of 19 February '77 carried a report on the CNT-FAI meeting in Barcelona on 30 January at which about 50 people were arrested and some later tortured. We have now received a report from Madrid with more detail about the situation as follows:

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Very few people knew about the meeting; it was organised secretly and no-one knew the place until the last moment. At the meeting were people from Italy, Portugal and various parts of Spain. Others coming from Toulouse were able to escape as they arrived late after the police were already on the scene. In fact the police arrived five minutes after the meeting began so there was not even time to read the programme. The documents were about FAI. Most of those present were CNT members. The police took them into custody and next day told the press that after some 46 FAI had been arrested at a meeting some of their homes

had been searched and "trilita" (a high explosive) had been found. This was not true. But it gave the police the pretext to implicate them with terrorist activities - with left terrorism which, of course, is being particularly clamped down on.

It was a great surprise for everyone to hear about the arrests, even about the meeting itself (very few people in Spain knew about the FAI). The Regional Committee of Barcelona (CNT) quickly took responsibility for the detainees and declared that the meeting had been an organisational one, to co-ordinate CNT press and propaganda and that the delegates were not terrorists but CNT revolutionaries. Thus only the CNT could be accused of illegal association.

The governor of Barcelona promised to have the prisoners released quickly but (as usual) the police kept them for 15 days. At the time of writing (23 February) all but seven are free because

the judges didn't find sufficient evidence against them. The seven from Barcelona are being held at Modelo gaol and are the main organisers of the meeting. Those released say that they were brutally beaten up and some even tortured. One (Isaac Garcia Pinero - eds) is in hospital with broken ribs, and another had his testicles crushed. The police interrogated them continually about anarchist groups (addresses, names, activities etc) and their relationship with the CNT. Meanwhile anarchists are constantly being arrested. Four people were arrested in Madrid but released two days later. The same thing happened in Bilbao. In Murcia y Malaga 15 people have been held and all of them, with the exception of four, taken to Barcelona. It appears that they are connected with the Barcelona meeting. All of them are accused of terrorist activities (possession of arms, bombs, explosives, etc) and also of bank robbery. Some are members of CNT and it is clear that the police are trying to give CNT a terrorist image. For a long time they have been wanting to destroy anarchist groups, and even more so since these groups joined the CNT. They are anxious for a reformist

FIGHT TO KNOW



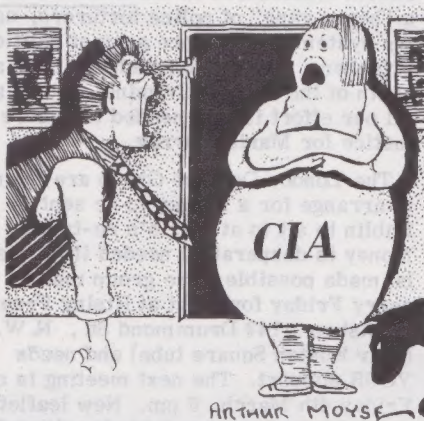
AUTHORITY CAN BE GIVEN A BROKEN NOSE!

Another link concerns the revelations of the notorious American organisation the CIA, which is active in this country according to Philip Agee. (Covert Action: What Next? published by the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee, 156 Kings Cross Road, London WC1). The CIA here supports right wing organisations, moderate trade unions and sympathetic publications. Their aim is to maintain happy conditions for American multinationals operating in this country, and whose business requirements are to keep wages low without control on prices.

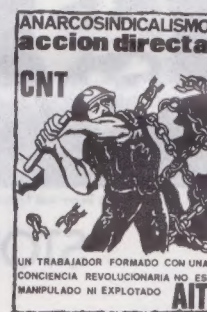
Anarchists should support the five now under trial or under threat of deportation. There is a protest march this Saturday in London (5 March), assembly point: Embankment, 1 p.m. going to the Home Office in Whitehall, then to Century House in Lambeth (headquarters of the intelligence services).

B.M.

(King John, forced to sign Magna Carta on 15 June, 1215).



"DIDN'T YOU REALISE THEY WERE INFILTRATING?"



not an anarchist CNT, which is why they are trying to "clean" it and to try to make people think that anarchists are terrorists, destructive and violent. This organised campaign against the CNT and the libertarian movements began with the Barcelona affair, and is still in progress, and you can imagine what great advantage the Communists and socialists are making of the situation. They have even tried to link us to the terrorist activities in Madrid four weeks ago!! (These were obviously carried out by the extreme right).

Things have been, and remain, very confused, largely due to lack of clarity surrounding the FAI. Lately several groups have appeared in Spain, each group considering itself to be the true FAI. I think the meeting was trying to organise and unite the different groups in order to set up the FAI inside Spain. Many people are opposed to this because they feel that FAI has to grow from the bottom up, not the opposite way round as the Barcelona people tried to do. Things will probably be sorted out at next meeting of the Federation's Madrid branch, to be held this month (March).

Salud!

CNT Militant

KING OF CLUBS

THE PRESENT manifestation in all towns and villages of preparation for the 25th anniversary of the Queen's accession, accompanied as it is by journalistic and commercial exploitation, serves not only to accent the mystical, patriotic and symbolistic nature of royalty but serves to cover up the origins of royalty. This institution like many bolstering up and arising from the state has its origins in violence and in its turn perpetuates and is sustained by violence. True, its origin has been well covered and, due to technological changes, the need for overt violence on the part of royalty itself (except to the lesser creatures) has been thrust into the background. Nevertheless the threat of force is still there and the King of Clubs is still a card to play.

Thomas Paine wrote: 'This is' 'supposing the present race of kings in the world to have had an honorable origin, whereas it is more than probable that, could we take off the dark covering of antiquity and trace them to their first rise, we should find the first of them nothing better than the principal ruffians of some restless gang; whose savage manners or pre-eminence in subtlety obtained him the title of chief among plunderers, and who by increasing in power and extending his depredations, overawed the quiet and defenceless to purchase their safety by frequent contributions. . . . England since the conquest hath known some few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones; yet no man in his senses can say that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honorable one. A French bastard landing with armed banditti and establishing himself King of England against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry rascally original. However, it is needless to spend much time in exposing the folly of hereditary right, if there are any so weak as to believe it, let them promiscuously worship the ass and the lion and welcome.' The worship of the ass and the lion has continued since Paine's day, even though the ass has been a democratically-elected president, and lions have devoured their worshippers.

If the rulers of the world are not threatening their subjects or inducing their subjects to place themselves in imminent peril by dint of 'protecting' themselves against some conjured-up menace, they are occupied with proving to their subjects how human they (the rulers) are.

In contradiction to this, and in explanation of the 'divine right' or as Shakespeare (monarchical creep as he felt he had to be for survival) called it 'the divinity hedging a king', we have Sir James Frazer's theory of the divine king.

As summarized by Mair in *Primitive Government* (Penguin, 1962), the theory 'drawn from all periods of his-

tory and all over the world, is that primitive man is intensely concerned with the aim of promoting this. He conceives of gods as being associated with vegetation or with the weather, who die and are renewed with the cycle of the year. The most primitive kings are not the rulers of political communities, but persons in whom a nature-god is believed to be incarnate. Their physical well-being affects that of their land and people, their sexual potency the fertility of nature and man in their country, and it is a crucial part of the complex beliefs which Frazer holds to be characteristic of primitive man that they cannot be allowed to die a natural death but must be killed in a ritual manner. In Frazer's view primitive man cannot conceive of an immortal god. They believe that gods die as men do, and that the god would die if the man died in whose body he resides. So, says Frazer, they guard against this by ensuring that the god shall always inhabit a body in the prime of its strength; when a king's strength begins to fail, he must be killed and his soul . . . transferred to a vigorous successor before it has been seriously impaired by the threatened decay."

Much of this mythology has clung to the institution of monarchy. The death of kings in battle, even by assassination, has never destroyed the institution. It has a built-in formula for survival—'The king is dead. Long live the king!'

The vestiges of divinity protected the monarchs, making 'treason' and 'blasphemy' coterminous; *lèse majesté* was a new crime to balance out the blessings of monarchs—who, it is claimed, could cure sicknesses by touch (90,000 were cured of the King's Evil). The hysteria that greets the arrival of the king is paralleled by the rhapsodies of the religious and the wails of bobby-soxers. Who is to say that it is not equally miraculous in its transformations?

As the divinity faded, the tyranny grew. Like the Old Testament God, they prefigured and created; the monarchs became terrible in their vengeance against their enemies, inward and outward. They created the State, with her (or his) Majesty's army, navy and, later, Air Force; her Majesty's Ministers, her Majesty's prisons, her Majesty's Opposition—all except, comments William Cobbett, her Majesty's debt. It is, and ever will be, forever the National Debt.

With the mechanization and democratization of warfare the days of kings leading armies into battle have gone but the linkage of this warrior-king-god with the chase and the profession of arms continues. There is also a return to simple country pursuits emphasizing the connection with the fertility of the earth. That this contribution consists in the progressive and steady decimation of living creatures is obviously a substitute for war.

At the same time it is firmly established that monarchs—and their hangers-on—have no need of the sordid pursuit of game for purely utilitarian consumption at the table. In fact, one of

the main victims of the chase is completely inedible whilst others are so puny as to make small contribution to an already adequate diet. Additionally it is desirable that the consumption of much game be postponed as long as possible in order to emphasize that immediate hunger was not the motive of the chase—like some peasant pursuit.

In its elaborations, rules, rituals and costumes the chase with its accoutrements is the most conspicuous of exercises in consumption. Like much upper-class sport the elaboration itself places obstacles between the real aims of the pastime and at the same time excludes those below a certain income.

The element of personal attested to by Princess Anne's riding accidents or (earlier) the Prince (Edward) of Wales' frequent hunting accidents makes sport the twentieth-century equivalent of monarchical war. Prowess in such pursuits (rarely alas! shown—except in game-bags) is another attribute of the god-king, attesting to virility without an unfashionable fertility or an unbecoming lustiness.

It could be that such pursuits are insufficient to sublimate the Royal bloodlusts, and therefore the conventional military careers and offices assumed by royalty offer an additional surrogate. However it is unquestionable that the military, aggressive and competitive nature of much of royalty's life-style bodes ill for whatever judgements in favour of war or peace they may be called upon to exercise.

In these days of the atomic and hydrogen bomb and the inter-continental ballistic missiles is it safe to leave our ruling to these bloody-minded god-king-warriors? Or to anyone?

Jack Robinson

Teenage Sceptics

A nationwide survey of teenagers has found that most high school students suspect that government officials control the news and what is released to the American public.

The survey of 22,300 teens, by the University of Missouri's School of Education found that 75% - or nearly three in every four questioned - believes that 'the government regulates news by controlling what it releases to the media.'

45% of those surveyed stated their belief that the government pressures the media to present the news favourably, and 30% said they suspect that less than half of all the news that is broadcast or printed is accurate, fair and unbiased.

- Alternative Media, Jan-Feb '77

RUBBER STAMPED!

You can have a lot of fun for £1 (inc. p&p) from Landslide Promotions, 94 Swanstead, Vange, Basildon, Essex. This worthy concern sells a rubber stamp which prints the word BULLSHIT. Excellent for use on official notices, works and office notice boards, election posters, advertisements etc.

ABOLISH WAGES !

WITH THE WEARY indifference of a captive cinema-audience we are about to view for the umpteenth time the great struggle of wages versus prices; or the quest for the Fair Wage and the Just Prize; or the Wicked Unions versus the Virtuous Government and the Fair-minded Employer; or the Wicked Employer and the Corrupt Government versus the Virtuous Good Working unions. You pays your money and you makes your choice. It's the same old film. Like an eternal Keystone cops' chase, prices outrun wages for a while, then wages catch up a little, somebody on the prices team socks the wages team and they fall back again and so it goes.

It is about time that one ceased to believe in the ineluctable pursuit of the twin Holy Grails of the Fair Wage and the Just Price. There ain't no such things. The existence of wages is in its nature unfair and prices are naturally unjust. For both depend upon monopoly and privilege.

The wage system is based upon differentials, upon output, upon hours worked, upon profitability, upon specialist knowledge (as Kropotkin says, interest upon intellectual capital). It has no reference to the usefulness or uselessness of the work to society, to the sordidness or pleasure of the work performed, to the physical effort, to the boredom or interest of the work. The wage system pays little heed (and less money) to the physical and psychological need of the worker or his family and dependents. Except insofar as the worker may if he finds work intolerable, choose the alternative of a low subsistence level. This freedom is increasingly frowned upon by the State.

The Trade Union movement about which such high hopes centred has buttressed and upheld this fabric of the

wage system; indeed, their man existence is centred round the arrival at a satisfactory formula for this system which will do the most good for the most-favoured worker and the least harm to the supposedly indispensable employer - whether an individual or the State - who hands out the wage packers. The blinkered existence of the carthorse dragging the capitalist or state capitalist cart is still that of the Trade Unions.

In Soviet Russia and wherever in the world the shame of "Communism" is practised the wage system flourishes with differentials as steadily marked out as rewards and punishment as in any capitalist country.

Differentials, like piece work and overtime, are devices to divide worker from worker. If class consciousness has vanished differentials have set up new classes of skilled and unskilled workers. Piecework places a premium on sweated labour and props up profit - at the same time destroying craftsmanship. The quest for overtime places at nought the struggle for the eight hour day; reduces the hours of private life and swells the funds of pay-as-you-earn. (In periods of under employment overtime assists in reducing the employers' overheads and reducing the work force).

Unions have dedicated their whole existence to enshrining these principles of gaining more financial advantage and spending their time and skill in niggling and haggling about details within the framework of a system which, by its nature, is unjust and unfair.

What will the anarchists put in its place? This familiar question, it has been pointed out, is like saying "What will you give me in place of a headache?" The communist-socialist concept of labour notes in terms of hours rather

than pounds and pence has all the attributes of a substitute malady.

Given the abolition of property, which is a prerequisite of the making and maintenance of a revolution, it is obvious that the wage system, in any form, must disappear - and since men will freely come together to work for the benefit of the community (otherwise the revolution will not have happened) they will also have the right (by reason of existence) to free access to whatever goods or services they require. Access will be possible by a hyper-supermarket with no cash register.

Since it is an anarchist belief that one of the cohesive forces in society (which the wage system destroys) is the necessity and desire of men and women to be of service to their fellows by exercise of their talents, abilities and skills, it follows that there is a basic equality of contributions to society by reason of such talents. In a society without the profit and property motives, the needs of society will be fulfilled by the inherent responsibility of the worker and craftsman whether they be doctors or dustmen.

There is, by reason of man's complexity and diversity (even the genus *homo* embraces the female sex) no means of measuring the quality or quantity of work-contribution to society. Also, by reason of this same complexity and diversity, there is no equality of needs. Therefore no false standards of work reward, arbitrary estimate of needs, or approximation of value of goods will serve in a free society. With such criteria society cannot be free.

Abolish the wage system!

JACK ROBINSON

AROUND THE FRINGES

The Joint Stock Theatre Group is currently touring *Devil's Island* by Tony Bicât. It is described as a "history play" covering the sixty years from 1937 to 1997. It is also claimed to have thirteen subplots and fifteen locations. The play opens in the garden of a blinded International Brigade veteran in 1930s England. He struggles to come to terms with his blindness and his politics in the face of effete relatives and the constant prodding of a visiting Russian Communist cadre. The whole first period of the play is haunted by the question - "Why are the Communists in Spain arresting and shooting the Anarchists?" It is never given a satisfactory answer.

The play moves quickly up to and past the present day to an England in a total state of collapse. The characters, or rather their descendants, now occupy a disused multi-storey car park which they call Devil's Island. They live by looking for dead pigeons in the ventilator shafts, and get stoned on fungus

grown in a jar of wheatgerm. To this ragbag collection of people (who incidentally appear as ageing punk-rock fans) a tin of dog food is a unit of wealth.

It transpires that they are engaged in the building by the local forces of control called the Sharks. The Sharks need four people, and four of the inhabitants of Devil's Island are betrayed into their hands; betrayed as it happens by the descendant of the Communist cadre in the first scene.

The play is fast and at times moving, although I felt that it waned during the scenes passing from past to future. The script is very witty and often funny. I did feel sometimes, though, that Tony Bicât was trying to be a little too clever, with lines that should really be followed by an elbow in the ribs and the query, "Get it." Nevertheless an excellent, if pessimistic, evening's entertainment.

Joint Stock is one of the foremost fringe groups in this country and were

responsible for *Light Shining in Buckinghamshire* about radical movements in Cromwell's England, and the toured and televised play *Fanshen* about change in a Chinese village. Joint Stock have, like Beck's Living Theatre before them, been stung by using audience participation techniques. During their Dublin performance of *The Speakers* Joint Stock called for the audience to assume parts. Taken at their word they found the play had passed out of their control. Enter police. Exit drunk. Play continues. For those who like myself find "audience participation" never what it claims to be, but usually unfair, sometimes unkind and nearly always pretentious, I give my assurance that Devil's Island will ask no more of them than their goodwill and attention.

This year Joint Stock will have a regular London home at the Roundhouse, Chalk Farm Road, but will continue to tour in Britain and abroad.

LARRY LAW

A JOURNEY TO OXFORD

IT IS MANY years since I went to Oxford. It remains a place of trainee masters and men. The space and beauty of the university parts and the ugliness of the Leyland car factories are too far apart to be noticed.

We attended a demonstration on behalf of strikers at the two largest hotels in the area with the usual mixture of militant trade unions, SWP and Trots, etc.

Saturday afternoon (19 February) we attended a sparse meeting of anarchists discussing fascism and racism. There was the usual division of opinion on what needed to be done about it.

It was interesting and stimulating to meet other anarchists with differing views or emphasis.

I travelled by train and it occurred to me what a civilised form of transport this was. The car, with its isolation, large requirements of time, space and energy, is really an anti-social machine. From box to box to box and back.

On the journey to London there was an interesting conversation with some Americans who had read the author of a book I was reading (Giovanni Baldelli).

The train could be a social meeting place, but it appears people are getting used to isolation.

Alan Albon

Peter Le Mare

ON 23 FEBRUARY Peter Le Mare, a Murrays defence campaigner, was fined £20 plus £26 costs and bound over to keep the peace for six months for arguing with the police. The incident leading to his arrest was reported in FREEDOM 18, 12, 76. We had hung an effigy from a lamp post and were leaf-letting outside the Irish Bank.

Our defence lawyer put up an excellent case and tore the prosecution witnesses to pieces. The prosecution's case rested on a woman in the bank who said she thought the dummy was a real body (of course she didn't do anything about it!) and a man who was "irritated". They needn't have bothered. Quote: "As a magistrate I am compelled to sit here and listen to all the evidence put before me ... but it has been as clear as daylight right from the very beginning that you were guilty of a disorderly act. The police are quite reasonable people, but if people persist in their foolishness or wickedness, and I think you were foolish rather than wicked, and don't go quietly home when told to, then the police have no alternative but to arrest them." Stupid old fart.

We would appreciate contributions to spread the load of this heavy fine.

Donations to: Peter Le Mare C/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor St, Ringway, Birmingham.

Birmingham Libertarian Socialists

FOCALIN



FOCALIN (?) Amazing publication from Ireland (copies can be obtained from 27 Bassett Street, NW5) containing a full frontal of Kathleen ni houlihan plus a sports page giving the odds of the Great Peace Handicap Chase. Favourites, British Army, Provos 3-1, Powell (Black Beauty) 50-1, Assorted Trots (no price quoted) etc. Brilliant Super-mick cartoons. Here is a taster. The Queen, or Paisley, or the Provos are not going to like this one.

UNFAIR COMMENT

While anarchists will not wish to shed tears in commiseration for the Attorney General's loss of absolute privilege, it is interesting that if the Court of Appeal's decision stands (and who can imagine the House of Lords changing it?) this is the end of the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy as laid down by Blackstone. (The doctrine incidentally against which the American colonists rebelled 200 years ago).

The House of Appeals are attempting to elevate (or re-elevate after two centuries) the courts and the law, as a constitutional body able to override a decision of parliament. No doubt it is merely coincidence that this has been for the last three years a Tory party proposal (indeed, aired by Lord Hailsham during the last Labour Government, though I remember hearing Tory speakers denouncing a Liberal suggestion to the same effect, just before the end of the war).

It of course makes - even in terms of legal constitutional theory as put by Dicey and Bagehot - total nonsense of the social democrat (and SPGB) perspective for the attainment of socialism. We have always pointed out that were there a really socialist majority in parliament there would be a military coup to prevent it; we now know that the Appeal Court would obviate the need by merely declaring any socialist measure unconstitutional.

(Note: see also FREEDOM, 5.2.77).

The use of the word Trotskyite in the many attacks that are being made on Trots by the right wing is interesting. One had thought that this was a

word that had disappeared from vocabularies. Associated with the worst of the Stalin era (no-one has ever called themselves a Trotskyite as opposed to a Trotskyist) it was a term used as an epithet for anyone to the left of the centre of the Labour Party (indeed, even some Liberals), and it merely meant disinclination to drop radical demands in the interests of "a popular front behind Eden and Churchill".

The fact that no-one calls themselves a Trotskyite means that no-one will feel it particularly necessary to get up and refute the allegations, and therefore claims that a Trotskyist is the moral equivalent of a Nazi (made by Prentice, the Telegraph and the Social Democratic Alliance) will go unrefuted.

Once made it then becomes possible to widen the use of the term, if not as far as the Stalinists originally used it, at least far enough to cover anyone from Tribune to ourselves; so it really could be the beginning of another McCarthy era, using ammunition directly gained from the Stalinists. The shadow of the icepick and the bullets that killed men from the position of Ignace Rees and Willi Muenzenburg leftwards to our own comrades is uncomfortably visible. The fact that social democrats may believe in the process of law is hardly reassuring, the OGPU after all was the law in a large part of the world.

Interesting too the way that the denunciations of Trots appear to be orchestrated so as to appear simultaneous from a number of sources, from Ian Sproat to the Guardian.

There have been Trot entrists in the Labour Party certainly as long as I can remember, sometimes stronger than now, often more active and militant. Why then a scare campaign?

The Labour Party knows that a number of Trot entrists are essential to its own unity and power. No Labour Government would ever be elected without the fervour of local activists, standing broadly to the left of Tribune, and looking to Marxist groups to provide an intellectual rationalisation for their actions. They are not generally Trots, but they need the reassurance of Trot sympathisers to maintain their belief in their Party despite all the evidence of what Labour governments do. The attacks come, by and large, from small groups on the extreme right of the LP, whose loyalty to their Party is certainly less than that of the Trot groups.

Interestingly, the purge is not confined to Britain. Sweden's Social Democratic Party has just expelled a section of its youth group for the same "Trotskyite infiltration" reasons; and Soares in Portugal is attempting so to do (the charge of infiltrator there is more difficult as these were founder members of the recreated PSP!) Suggesting orchestration on an international level and as Sproat and the Telegraph are involved, not by anyone in the Socialist and Labour International. Guess which.

ANARCHISTS IN LONDON 1935-55

PUBLISHER REPLIES:

Dear Editors,

I have only just received a copy of Freedom containing Philip Sansom's attack on Albert Meltzer's personal memoir "The Anarchists in London" and I feel I must answer through your columns - if only to underline Sansom's hysteria.

First of all I should like to make it quite clear to those readers who have not read Albert's book that at no point does he lay claim to being either a historian or researcher. We are grateful to all readers and reviewers with constructive criticisms to make (particularly James Alexander in "The Freethinker"), but most people will appreciate that a few mistakes - made looking back over a period of forty years of activism within the anarchist movement - were honest ones, of greater importance to the academic than the activist and in no way affecting the essence of what Albert has to say. They were not deliberate distortions such as those made by Philip Sansom.

The fact that the book is not a history is made abundantly clear by the sub-title "A Personal Memoir", but it looks as though PS was so upset by what he thought to be an organised attempt to write him out of history that he overlooked this. Also, the reason his photograph was omitted from the newspaper cutting of the Freedom trial was due to lack of space - nothing more sinister. Had Cienfuegos Press known this omission was going to cause him so much anguish we would have squeezed it in somewhere.

I neither have the time nor the inclination to go into all the mis-interpretations and distortions made by PS, but here a few for good measure. He refers to Albert emotively as "inventing" the anarchist movement, yet none of the old activists are ever mentioned by Freedom Press, for whom it seems that the history of the anarchist movement is synonymous with Freedom Press itself. What PS seems to object to is Albert placing the movement in perspective.

Also, may I be so bold as to inquire what PS has done in the last 20 or 30 years apart from the short-lived "Wildcat" and speaking for a time in Hyde Park (Albert tells me that he did get his dates wrong in this context). Admittedly he was on the "Christie Carballo Defence Committee", but he omits to say that he had much less enthusiasm for the Stoke Newington Eight Defence Committee which was even nearer home than the Murray Defence Group. PS was one of the contributors to the notorious split between Freedom Press and the Syndicalist Workers Federation and, in addition, it was his insistence on inactivity which helped stultify the old movement and led, in turn, to the development of groups such as ORA in reaction against it. Inactivity and a reduction in the level of militancy within the group associated with Freedom Press was in his interest as he was working at Express Printers doing his own work on their machines and also that of Freedom Press itself, and drawing a small salary. To say that Philip Sansom bore the losses of "The Syndicalist" is ludicrous.

Hypocritically, he makes no mention of the fact that he has fallen out with "Freedom"

and will no longer write for it (presumably this was his last message to Freedom's readers) having plans to start another paper.

Another point worth mentioning is his keenness to rush to the defence of George Woodcock, the well-known obituarist: "... the references to George Woodcock in the Black Flag style..." It looks like PS has his copy of Black Flag specially re-hashed for him - if he reads it at all - but I'd like to make it quite clear to your readers that Black Flag only attacked George Woodcock for accusing the anarchist movement of a series of sex murders and blaming "Red Lion Street" (Freedom Press - does that include PS?) for covering them up. Vernon Richards' attacks on Woodcock are much more bitter than Albert's but at no point does Sansom attack him!

It is simply not true that the only people left from the movement of the mid-thirties are the un-named mystery comrade who, according to Sansom, will not reply (this is a reference to Vernon Richards, but as a point of interest he has commented - to my mind favourably - on the book: "it is like the Parson's egg" which, in common parlance, means "good in parts"). There are many others, but he does not recognise them because (with notable exceptions) they were not within the Freedom Press Group.

The general opinion in regard to Albert's book is that it is quite kind to Freedom Press which, then, as now, was not precisely all that was going on.

What really surprised me was PS's final paragraph. His attack on myself was so patronising and verged on the racialist that I wonder if the editors excised a parting shot at Albert. So far as our activities on a remote northern Scottish island are concerned I would just like to point out that Cienfuegos Press and Simian Publications have done more up here in this small island in the field of publishing than Freedom Press and Philip Sansom have done in the heart of sophisticated London since the war - and what have they done since the war outside publishing?

Stuart Christie

REVIEWER REPLIES:

I might have known that criticising Albert Meltzer's "personal memoir" would have been interpreted as "hysteria". It seems that only approval can be regarded as constructive criticism. Since he draws my attention to James Alexander's review in the Freethinker, however, perhaps I should draw his attention to practically the only reference to facts in that review, where Alexander gently corrects two factual errors on Albert's part.

I am a little puzzled by the fact that this book is being sold to us now not as a history but a personal memoir. Does this mean that the truth does not matter? I did not stress the errors and omissions in my own case because I was anguished, but simply to demonstrate that in those things about which I knew the truth Albert was wrong in many details - so why should I assume, as he expects readers with no personal knowledge to do, that he is right in everything else?

It is simply dishonest to produce a book entitled "The Anarchists in London 1935-1955" and then to claim, after inaccuracies have been pointed out - none of which are challenged by Stuart, incidentally - that it is nothing more than a personal memoir. Is it the cult of the personality that we are now asked to applaud?

Contrary to Stuart's contention that I object to Albert's placing the movement in perspective. What I object to is Albert writing out of the movement everybody with whom he has fallen out, and thus distorting the perspective. I referred to my own elimination on "The Syndicalist" (and if I didn't bear the losses on that, perhaps Albert could tell us who did?) and could also have asked about Albert's co-workers on "Cuddon's International Review." Why could not Ted Kavanagh have been awarded a footnote in our history for his printing of that - to say nothing of the bookshop called "The Wooden Shoe" that Ted and Albert founded and in which Ted worked full time?

The second half of Stuart's letter is a diatribe against both myself and Freedom Press. It reminds me of the story of the American tourist being shown round the beautiful, marble halls of the Moscow Underground who had the temerity to ask "Where are the trains?" and getting the answer "And what about the negroes in the deep south?"

I don't think I have to justify my record of activity to Stuart Christie but even here he has been fed false information by Albert Meltzer.

I was not in fact on the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee. I was brought in as a speaker because I could whip up the emotion necessary to cover up the unease we all felt about that whole ridiculous adventure. I was particularly angry because I thought then and still think that Stuart - 18 years old, I believe at the time - had been led into it by older people who set out to use him and who should have known better.

But the real donkey work on the Committee was done by Mary and Jack Stevenson, by Peter Turner, by Mark Hendy and by John Rety and several others who don't get any "perspective" from Albert - who jumped on the Christie bandwagon a good deal later.

I was not one of the contributors to the notorious split between Freedom Press and the Syndicalist Workers' Federation if only for the historical fact that the Syndicalist Workers' Federation did not exist at the time of the split. It is true I stayed with Freedom Press for many years after the split - but was in fact the only member of that group who would appear on a platform with Ken Hawkes, one of the instigators of the split, both on syndicalist issues (I was FREEDOM's spokesman for anarcho-syndicalism for a long time) and - at the Christie-Carballo Defence Committee meeting at the Conway Hall.

I would like to have some evidence, please, that I was one of the contributors to the split and also that it was my insistence on inactivity which helped

MORE ON FREEDOM

Dear Freedom,

You ask for a response to Claude's complaint that Freedom lacks an "ideological line". Indeed Freedom does, but that is all to the good. The last thing the movement needs is a line excluding all those who disagree. This has been the bane of all Marxist splinter groups and anarchists should have no part of it. As long as Freedom expresses a distinctly anarchist viewpoint, and remains the world's foremost English-language anarchist newspaper, complaints about the lack of a line miss the point.

By all means let every anarchist viewpoint be debated in the letters and columns of Freedom. After all diversity and creativity in contrast with the uniformity and stagnation of authoritarianism and statism are the hallmarks of anarchism. I don't think we need to worry about Freedom's ideological purity as long as numerous readers, columnists and letter-writers stand ready to pounce at the slightest sign of a deviation from their personal concept of anarchism.

So I suggest you avoid editorials per se. Let the cudgels be taken up by the columnists and letter writers.

What people need to know first of all is what's happening to anarchists and anarchism and what anarchists are doing around the globe. This kind of news should take precedence over detailed coverage of the British parliament.

The Review is always a pleasure to me if not to others.

"Agitation" at the local level is best accomplished by leaflets, speeches, etc. Of course forthcoming demonstrations should be publicized, but exhortative headlines should be avoided e.g. "Smash the State!" or "Brits get out of Ireland". Rather headlines and stories should be geared to attract a person's interest without sacrificing any anarchist perspective.

Yours for freedom,
Randy Sides

DOGS OF FLEET STREET

Dear Editors,

In "The Battle of Fleet Street" (Freedom 5 February) JR unreasonably assumes most people (readers of Freedom?) are aficionados of the popular press. For the sake of Reason I must question his assumption, at least vis a vis this paper's clientele. Whoever they are, they surely possess the IQ's expected of them by the State - sufficient to assimilate daily undiluted crud and not feel offended or insulted by it; nay, cry out in anguish when it's denied them. In other words, Election fodder zombies - and I trust that excludes 'Freedom' aficionados?

So let the dogs of Fleet Street practice cannibalism. My complaint is that they aren't getting down to it fast enough - probably because their retainers, good Union men all, prevent them from doing so.

Talking of dogs, I'd like to pick another bone - with DP over his 'Home Rule' piece (Freedom 18 December). The concept of Devolution as a distraction, far from being



"discontented carping", is decidedly close to reality, for just reflect on how much time and attention is being devoted to this artificial issue thereby allowing Her Majesty's other Secretaries of State a welcome rest away from the searchlights.

Nor has Devolution much to do with nationalism in the strictest sense of the term, more with politics pure and simple. This sop to bourgeois third force groupings in Scotland and Wales is intended to buy Labour time. Whether it will or can does not concern us, but Devolution - which means more Government, more bureaucrats, more taxes, adding to the delusion of democracy and freedom the zombies take for real - does. How can DP have mixed feelings on such an issue?

Yours faithfully,

B.J. Clifton

(An answer: If you would re-read the piece, I think that you'll find that I agree with you. The comment about "discontented carping" was intended to be ironic. I'm afraid that a phrase missed in printing, obscured another point, "thereby preventing bureaucrats, commentators and others of that ilk" should have continued, "from joining the swelling masses of the unemployed". The points about delusions were dealt with in the last paragraph. I don't understand why I can't have mixed feelings on "the measure of decentralisation involved" - I approve of something which, to some extent, reverses the eddying of power towards the centre, but point out "illusory though this is in practical terms"

B.F.C. points out that the whole shabby charade is to buy Labour time. At the moment we can be entertained, watching that time run out. Any predictions on the course of the next administration?

DP

NOTE TO SCOTTISH SPORTS PERSONS

Dear Freedom

It is winter in Glasgow. It is very cold and very wet. This gives us a great opportunity to engage in our favourite evening sport - going to meetings that don't exist. Some of us are over sixty and it therefore takes a lot of effort to go to these meetings not to mention the strain of feigning great annoyance at finding there is no meeting.

All the honours for starting this wonderful new sport must go to you. Despite two explicit letters, giving you plenty of info and time, you inserted the wrong advert in the paper. The meetings are indeed on Mondays, but it would be an idea to point out to people (as we did in our letter) that it is only on the first and third Mondays

of each month that we have our public meetings.

It would be a shame to kill off our new sport, but maybe we could start another called "serious Revolution."

Yours

David

Glasgow

Reply: Freedom Collective is duly chastised. Serious revolutionary readers are requested to bear the above in mind when referring to the Contact Column.

LONDON '35-'55

stultify the old movement. Was that before or after I collaborated (or did I dream it all?) with Albert on "The Syndicalist"? Before or after we (i.e. some of us in perspective, a long way from the source of light) occupied the Cuban Embassy in 1963 to protest against the murder and imprisonment of libertarians by Castro?

It is true that for a time - from 1946 to 1949 to be exact - I drew a small salary for working at Express Printers. I then began another arrangement with them whereby I worked on certain jobs for the press and got paid for them, and also brought in work which was produced over my own imprint for which I paid Express Printers for the use of their machines and staff. It was under that arrangement that "The Syndicalist" was produced.

But since we are led into the realms of hearsay, with VR's comment, perhaps Stuart would not mind if I tell FREEDOM's readers that about a year ago - when I bought fifteen copies of Costantini's "Art of Anarchy" from the Cienfuegos Press to use for fund-raising - Stuart asked me if I would be prepared to read the proofs of Albert's book then in the pipeline.

I of course replied that I would be most pleased to do so. But I heard no more about it. I wonder why. And I wonder who censored Stuart's idea?

And since he chooses to mention publishing, may I point out that in Albert's memoirs, the pamphlet "The Wilhelms-haven Revolt" is credited solely to "Simian Publications" without a mention that this was in fact first published by Freedom Press in 1943 (one of the first covers I designed for FP!) - is in the middle of the war, when it was a bit more dangerous to publish such stuff than it is now. On the book-selling tour I mentioned in my review that I sold hundreds of these pamphlets by Icarus and it could well have been this sort of thing showing up in unlikely places that helped to bring my subsequent prosecution.

But enough. I am sorry that Stuart has been fed so much false information that he gets so much wrong. Sorry if I was overharp on his production of Albert's memoirs. Can he not believe that, after such a splendid job had been done with the "Art of Anarchy" by Costantini, it was a disappointment to me to see such a shoddy job done with this one

As for verging on racialism ... come off it, Stuart!

P.SANSOM

FREEDOM:

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next REVIEW is Saturday 5 March and for NEWS section Monday 14 March.

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 17 March. Come and help from 4pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding session and informal get-together.

PRESS FUND

11 - 23 February

LONDON E.4.: S. & A.G. 50p; NEWMARKET Ontario; D.C.C. £ 2.82; SAUCHIE: D.T. £ 1; LONDON N.7. J.H.J. £ 8; TOKYO: W.T. £ 1; NEW YORK: N.M. £ 2.90; LEICESTER: M.S. £ 1; COLCHESTER: R. & C.A. 11p; GÖTEBORG: N.L. 35p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 3; J.K.W. 35p; NEWCASTLE: J.M. 28p; HAMBURG: P.B. £ 4.26; LONDON N1: S.B. £ 1; SACRAMENTO: Proceeds from gathering of Italian comrades per A.G.: £ 57; GAINESVILLE Fla. A. & R.S. £ 1.20; LEEDS: G.H.L. 27p; LONDON W4: R.W. £ 1.95; LARBERT: B.W. £ 10; OXFORD: S.A.B. £ 5; BRIDGWATER: D.K. 50p.

Total: £ 102.59
Previously acknowledged £ 310.88

TOTAL TO DATE £ 413.47

INTERNATIONAL

Canberra. Alternative Canberra Group. 10 Beltana Rd. Pialliga. A.C.T. 2609
Melbourne. Martin Giles Peters. c/o Dept. of Philosophy Monash University. Melbourne
New South Wales. P. Stones. P.O. Box 26 Warrawong. N.S.W.
Sydney. Fed. of Aust. Anarchists. Box 92 Broadway. 2007 Australia.

NEW ZEALAND

Anarchists resident in or visiting New Zealand contact Christchurch Anarchists. P.O. Box 22-607. Christchurch. New Zealand

NEW YORK

Libertarian Book Club Lectures. 7.30 pm at Workmen's Circle Center. 8th Ave and 29 St (SW corner). Free admission. Coffee & cook's

Mar. 10. Dwight Macdonald: Recollections of an Anarchist

Apr 14: Sam Dolgoff: Anarchism in the Cultural Revolution

May 17 Murray Bookchin: Environment and Anarchism.

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name
name

address.

CONTACT:

WOMAN Pacifist Anarchist seeks space in anarchist house/flat anywhere in London. If you know anywhere contact Pat Carr, 38 Marden House, Bodney Road, London E.8.
WOULD STUART FRANCIS contact FREEDOM as a friend of his wishes to make contact.
DOUGLAS KEPPEL invited friends to meeting of Social Action Projects (Drug Dependents Care Group) on Saturday 26 March at 2.30 pm at 6 Endsleigh Street London WC1. Informal. Refreshments.

ANARCHIST GROUP forming in BRIXTON. Details phone 674-6402

Christian Anarchists in London? Contact Doug Truman 169 Cleveland St. W.1 (Flat 18)

THE LIBERTARIAN Student Network is now functioning. Contact Peter Baker A 106 Allesley House, Rhodes Residences, Univ. of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL

PEOPLE with a Disability Liberation Front. Box 1976, c/o Rising Free 142 Drummond St. London NW1.

CORBY LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION group Contact Susan and Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

S.E. LONDON Libertarian Group meets Wednesdays. Ring Georgina 460 1623

BIRMINGHAM Libertarian Socialist group m meets Sundays 8 pm at The Peace Centre, 18 Moor St. Queensway, & afterwards in 'The Fox & Grapes', Freeman Street

NORTH-WEST Anarchist Federation. For mtg., activities & newsletter write 165 Rosehill Rd., Bolton, Lancs

GLASGOW Scottish Libertarian Fed. 'extra ordinary' public mtgs. St. Bride's Centre Rosevale St. Partick. Mondays 7.30 pm

URGENTLY needed to loan or by: Krimmerman & Perry Patterns of Anarchy (N.Y.

Doubleday). Also anything relevant to dissertation on "Anarchism and the Sociology of Organisations". Contact D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks. FK10 3NR

See despatching date for next issue of FREEDOM when we need help. And if you are committed to anarchism and have some skills e.g. typing translating &c we'd be glad to have your offer of help. Freedom Collective.

PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahm. 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

ST. ALBANS Anarchists contact John Morton 21 St. Peter's Road, St. Albans Herts.

SWANSEA. Keith Sowerby House 35 Student Village Landrefolian Swansea

THAMES VALLEY anarchists contact Adele Dawson, Mzymeade, 6 Congress Rd. Maidenhead SL6 3EE (tel. 0626 2974)

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation: Aberdeen. Blackie c/o APP 67 King Street. Dundee. Mike Malet. 1 Lynnewood Place. Edinburgh. Gibson. 7 Union St. (tel. 557 1522)

Glasgow. Baird. 122 Benneray St. G22 (tel. 336 7895)

Stirling D. Tyme. 99 Rosebank, Sauchie Clacks.

(also contacts in Dumfries Fife. West Lothian Port Glasgow. Highlands.)

GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan 59 North Parade Aberystwyth, Dyfed. Anarchists in other parts of Wales please also contact

BIRMINGHAM. Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Rd. Mosley Birmingham 13

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Ave Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)

CAMBRIDGE anarchists contact Ron Stephan 41 York St. Cambridge.

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk Corby Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne. c/o Students Union. Univ. of Warwick. Coventry

DURHAM. Martin Spence. 11 Front Street. Sherburn Village. Durham

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians. Martyn Everett. 11 Gibson Gardens. Saffron Walden. Essex

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin. 12 Winstons Gardens. Leeds 6.

LEICESTER. Peter and Jean Miller. 41 Norman Road. (tel 549642)

MANCHESTER Anarchist Group contact Al on 061-224 3028 for infor. & mtgs.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE anarchist group 4 Mosley Street Newcastle

MEETINGS

TWO ANARCHIST-MADE FILMS: Frame-Up! (story of Martin Sostre) and Red Squad (45 mins. each) Saturday March 12 7 pm at Tabernacle Community Centre, Powis Terrace, Powis Square, Notting Hill (nearest Tube Westbourne Grove). In aid of Centro Iberico.

Distributed by Anarchist Black Cross for short season. (Showings being arranged at Glasgow Edinburgh & Paisley, then Manchester.)

Inquiries re bookings c/o Black Flag

MARCH AGAINST the Criminal Trespass Law.

Saturday March 19. March begins 2.15.

Assemble 1.45 pm at Cardington St. N.W.1 (next to Euston Station). Rally with Speaker Highbury Fields. (C.A.C.T.L. 6 Bowden Street London SE 11)

COVENTRY. All anarchists in Coventry wishing to meet regularly please contact John England 48 Spencer Ave. Earlsdon Coventry.

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble Arch) Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm.

Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcomed.

EAST LONDON group holds regular fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Latham Rd. E.6.

Phone Ken on 552 3985.

KINGSTON Libertarian group meets Wednesdays. Ring Pauline 549 2564

WALES-Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law: Day Conference Sat. 5 March

11 am - 5 pm at Miners' Hall, Merthyr Tydfil. (CACTL Conference in Wales, c/o AUUEW/TASS 18 Anne's Close, Merthyr Tydfil)

PRISONERS

Mike Murphy (C01039) HM Prison Ashwell. Oakham, Leics.

John Nightingale (338645) HM Prison Parkhurst nr. Newport, Isle of Wight wd. like to hear from friends old and new

DUBLIN anarchists Bob Cullen Des Keane & Columba Longmore. Military Detention Centre. Curragh Camp. Co. Kildare. Eire.

Marie Murray and Noel Murray. Protest letters to the Justice Minister 72-76 St. Stephen Stephen's Green. Dublin 2: The Irish Ambassador 17 Grosvenor Place. London SW1X 7HR

PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHISM LANCASTRIUM No. 10. 8p (post 16 p) from 16 Kingsmill Ave. WHALLEY, Lancs.